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A
LETTER

TO A

Friend at the HAGUE,

Concerning the

Danger of *Europe*, *K*

And particularly of

GREAT-BRITAIN,

In Case the QUADRUPLE AL-
LIANCE should not Succeed.

L O N D O N :

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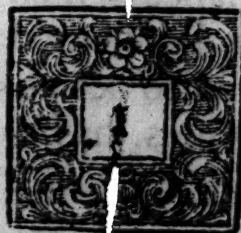
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A
LETTER
TO A
FRIEND
AT THE
HAGUE,
Concerning the
Quadruple Alliance.

My Lord,

London, *June* 23. 1718.



Receiv'd the Packet your
Lordship did me the Honour
to send with the last Mail;
and in Compliance with
your Lordship's Request,
send you my Thoughts on the present
Grand Affair of the *Quadruple Alliance*;
which

which you intimate is not receiv'd even by the St—s with the greatest Unanimity. The Lord S—pe's sudden Voyage to *France* has occasion'd very different Sentiments here, from what we generally entertain'd but a few Days before. I have consider'd in these Papers the Danger *Europe* is in, if this Affair should not Succeed, which ought to be so far from obstructing its Progress, that 'tis the most powerful Reason to facilitate a happy Conclusion.

It is evident to all Men of Observation, that the Face of *Europe* looks with as Cloudy an Aspect at present, as it has done at any time for these last Hundred Years: Nor is it less evident, that *Great Britain* has her Proportion of those Clouds which threaten an universal Storm.

It hath been our Lot and Glory a long Time, to have the Reputation of being the Arbiters of the Grand Differences of Christendom: and it hath as long been in our Power to carry the Ballance which way we would. Nor can it be deny'd that this Nation, when suffered to act according to its own natural Genius, has ever espous'd the juster Side.

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Yet it must be own'd, that we have sometimes had the Unhappiness, as well as other Nations, to act contrary both to our own Interest, and that of our Neighbours, but this has been more owing to those that were at the Helm, than either to the Ignorance or ill Intention of the People of *Great Britain*.

There are now the greatest Controversys renew'd and depending betwixt two of the principal Powers of *Europe* that ever we or our Fathers heard of, and as they have already, are again like to be disputed with greater Force and Warmth than any other Controversy that hath yet troubled the *Western* World. This makes it evident, that we are as much as ever concern'd to act with Vigour, if we have a mind either to preserve the Honour of keeping the Ballance even betwixt the two contending Parties, or to enjoy the Advantage of securing to ourselves the Blessings of Peace and Prosperity.

In order to be satisfied as to this Matter, we are first to take a View of Affairs Abroad, and then to cast an Eye upon those at Home.

Tho' the Emperor is more immediately concern'd for his own Interest and that of his Family, who are already depriv'd

priv'd of a Succession they had reason to hope for, and now again disturb'd in the Possession of what was secured to them by solemn Treaties so lately made; yet this Attempt of his Catholick Majesty to break the Tranquillity of *Europe*, engages also the Concern of most other Princes and States in Christendom, who have each of them their own peculiar Interests involv'd in the Consequences of it: And particularly by the Concern of Navigation and the Interest of Trade and Commerce, *England*, *France* and *Holland*, are more immediately affected thereby.

The Press Abroad affords the Publick every Day Reflections upon these Things; and those that write for the Liberty of *Europe*, generally agree in the same Topicks, that 'tis the Interest of all those States, to enter into strict Alliances for the common Peace of Christendom, and to bring *Spain* to repent of her hasty Enterprises. The necessity of this is very obvious: But then a thinking Man will at the same Time revolve more distinctly in his Mind the Posture of Affairs as well Domestick as Foreign; that the greatest Things move by Springs unseen, and that a wise Man in erecting a Fabrick, not only considers the Cost, but also the Ma-

Materials, what Instruments are proper to carry on the Building, and what Rubbish is to be removed.

To begin with the Emperor, we may believe him to be in good earnest. But, tho' his Cause be good, his Ability to maintain it is but small, and while the *Turkish* War continues, he can have little Power to do himself right.

2. He has the Misfortune, with most other Princes of that Religion, to be govern'd by the Church, and particularly by Jesuits, who are the Bane of Humane Society, undermine and betray all that trust them, and are generally in the Interest of *Spain*, because that Nation is and was always devoted beyond Measure to the Interest and Advancement of the Temporal Power of the Clergy; as they were lately in the Interest of *France*, because *Lewis XIV.* had been more zealous and successful in destroying the Reformation than any other Prince in his Time. Therefore above all, his Imperial Majesty must exclude the Jesuited Zealots from having any Influence in his Councils. They look on the Catholick King as the Champion of their Cause, and are so bigotted to the Church, that as this new Fire is suspected to be kindled by their means, they will now,
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more than ever favour the Interests and Designs of *Spain*.

3. As the natural Result of Bigotry and Arbitrary Power, the *Emperor's* Subjects in *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, are so much disobliged by the unnatural and barbarous Persecution they have undergone, that they can have no entire Confidence in a Prince, whose Conscience is directed by their sworn Enemies; a Set of Men that will be contented with nothing less than the utter Ruin of all Protestants: And therefore the *Emperor's* Subjects of that Religion are in a great measure made useless to him, and forced to throw themselves, from time to time, upon the Protection of the *Ottoman* Family, who allow them the Freedom of their Religion, and therefore frequently prevail upon them (as at this present) to join in their Wars against the House of *Austria*. Now it is the *Emperor's* Interest to treat his *Hungarians* more mildly for the Future, though their present Rebellion may perhaps provoke him to greater Severities: And *Great-Britain* ought likewise to make use of the present Opportunity in their Favour; as the *Emperor* can't well refuse us any thing of that Kind, which we shall think fit to stipulate.

4. It is very well known, that his Imperial Majesty hath no Naval Force ; so that he can make no Opposition to the *Spaniards* at Sea.

5. His Treasure is very much exhausted by the late War against *France*, and the present one against the *Turk*.

6. The Empire is in continual Danger of being embroil'd in its own Bowels, by differences betwixt some of the Princes and States thereof ; and also in its Northern Parts by the Pretensions of the King of *Sweden*, and his Designs against the present King of *Poland*.

7. Three of the Electors of the *Empire*, and several of its other Princes, being Popish Ecclesiasticks, they can hardly be supposed ever to joyn cordially with him in a War, for the Success of which he must very much rely upon Protestant Assistants.

Lastly, it must be confess'd, that the present *Emperor* and his Predecessor have formerly been very unhappy in the Management of their Alliances with *England* and *Holland*, who being disoblged by the intemperate Zeal of the Court of *Vienna* against the Reformation, at the Treaty of *Reswick*, or otherwise prevail'd upon, God knows how, became engag'd in a First and Second Partition-Treaty a-

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gainst the Honour and Interest of that Family : which was also no less ingloriously deserted by *Great Britain* at the Conclusion of the late War. But his Imperial Majesty and all the World are sensible, that our own Interests were betray'd in a far greater Measure than those of any of our Allies, by that Reigning Faction at Court, which brought about so dishonourable a Peace as that at *Utrecht*, and this Nation has resented the Treachery of those Managers.

We shall in the next Place take a View of the United Provinces, concerning whom we may observe,

1. That being a Country that subsists chiefly by Trade, to which War is certainly ruinous, we are not to wonder if the Trading part of that Country be very averse to it, and by Consequence obstruct such Resolves as tend to carry it on.
2. That there is a strong Party among them that are for temporizing with *Spain*, and gaining Time; and if they can but weather the Storm for some time, think themselves out of Danger.
3. That their Constitution is none of the happiest; for being Seven distinct Sovereignties, and not to be concluded by the Majority, it renders them the more liable to be practis'd upon, in order to be divided.
4. That

4. That they have a considerable Number of Papists among them who are always Enemies to a Protestant Government, and are taught by their Priests to sacrifice the Interest of their Country to that of their Church, of which the King of *Spain* is now the professed Champion.

5. That being a People who are very jealous of their Liberty, and knowing that popular Generals at the Head of numerous Armies, do always endanger the People's Freedom, it follows naturally, that they should be careful to avoid a War, which gives their Captain Generals such an Opportunity, especially considering the Risk that they have run of being ruin'd that way oftner than once.

6. That they are much exhausted and burden'd with Debt by the late War, and their People uneasy on that Account, as well as we.

But certainly the *Dutch* understand their own Interest so well, that there is no room to doubt they will concur in every thing that may secure the Peace of Christendom; and tho' at present their Apprehensions are very much divided, and their Humours vary, yet their Concurrence in the proposed Alliance must

necessarily appear to them to be the only best Means for preventing a War, or speedily ending it.

In the next Place, let us take a View of *France*. There indeed we find the Scene quite chang'd, since the Death of the late King; at least as to outward Appearances; and *France* and *Spain* seem now no more to be under one Government, or in one Interest. But at the same time it must be own'd that it would have been reckon'd by most thinking Men an unaccountable Paradox a few Years ago, to suppose it could so fall out in so short a time, that *France* should enter into a Confederacy against a Prince of her own Household, whose Cause she alone maintain'd against almost all the Force of Christendom, for so many Years, at an Infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure. And it must also be confess'd, whatever Appearances there may be to the contrary, that there is still a strong Union of *Affection* between these two Monarchies, tho' their Union of *Power* in the Views that our Politicians here have formed, must now be consider'd as dissolv'd.

Farther, *France* has a terrible Faction in its own Bowels that is entirely devoted to King *Philip's* Interest; for two very weighty Reasons indeed.

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1. In him they have plac'd their only remaining Hopes of carrying away universal *Empire* by the Union of the two Crowns, all the legal Bars and Impediments that could possibly be contriv'd to prevent the same notwithstanding, in Case their present young King should die without Heirs of his Body. This ambitious Humour of the *French*, (which I hope at present is restricted to the Faction we are speaking of) supported by the Greatness of their Power, would long before this time have brought all *Europe* under Subjection, if their own Divisions and private Quarrels had not from time to time put back their Designs for many Years, or had not their greatest Princes been cut off before they could have finished their intended Work.

2. The Cause of Religion will be advanced with the Success of his Catholick Majesty's Arms. The Priests that inflame the Faction will tell them, they are Rebels to Heaven, if they neglect the Opportunity of rooting out the *Northern* Heresy, and replanting the Catholick Faith: and thus are the *French* Popish Zealots violently bent to favour the Designs of the King of *Spain* against the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*.

Nevertheless it is but reasonable to think, that so long as the Regent is able to preserve his Authority in *France*, there will be no Cause to apprehend any double Dealing from that Quarter. Most certain it is, that he can conceive no mighty Pleasure in the touring Greatness of a Prince, who may one Day dispute his Pretensions with him to one of the richest Prizes in the World.

However it be, the Obstacles that have been, it seems, thrown in the way of the intended Alliance, on the Part of *France*, whereby the Conclusion of it is hitherto retarded, have given Rise to various Speculations; and all good Men are fill'd with Impatience and Anxiety about the Issue of this Affair: For in truth all depends upon it. If the Alliance succeeds, in the Opinion of some Men, *Spain* will not dare to strike another Stroke; but if it should not, we have a very melancholy View before our Eyes. All former Apprehensions of Danger from the Greatness of *Spain* and the House of *Austria*, from the growing Power of *France*, when *Lewis XIV.* march'd in Person to *Utrecht*, and had almost possess'd himself of the Seven Provinces, or in the beginning of the late Bloody War, when he aggrandiz'd himself by the

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quisition of *Spain*, would in no Degree be equal to such a dismal Conjunction.

Let so much suffice for a brief View of the State of our proposed Allies. The next thing to be consider'd is our own Condition at Home; as to which it is evident, that we abound with sharp and shameful Divisions, that have a very melancholy Aspect, and such indeed as may make us justly apprehend the Verification of that in our particular Case, which our Saviour said of all such in general, That a Kingdom divided against it self cannot Stand. What Native of this Kingdoms is able to command his Passion, who considers the present State of his Country? A Nation so generally divided can admit of no Harmony amongst its Subjects, but from the King on the Throne to the Beggar on the Dunghill, every Individual must suffer more or less by such a Division: Yet such is our Misfortune; and this Division runs through all the Countries, Cities, Corporations and Societies in the Kingdom, and creates and nourishes unnatural Heats, Jars and Animosities among People of all Ranks. Is it not strange that such a wise and mighty Nation, who have from time to time so gloriously asserted their Liberties against Foreign and Domestick Usurpations,

tions, and have had their *Magna Charta* confirm'd oftner than once with a Solemnity inferior to nothing that ever was transacted upon Earth, but the Promulgation of the Divine Law upon Mount *Sinai*; is it not strange, I say, that such a Nation should not yet know the true Boundaries betwixt Prerogative and Property, but that we should be as ready to cut one another's Throats, and fall to Sides under the foolish Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, as the *Italians* were formerly under the like pernicious Distinction of *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*? And as if this Division were not enough, each Branch of it admits of Subdivisions; State Whigs and Church Whigs, State Tories and Church Tories, Court Whigs and Country Whigs. There's another Denomination very common among us, which carries the most plausible and generous Aspect of all the rest, and that is an *Englishman*; but then it necessarily implies that there's a Party among us, who are not thought worthy of that Character. We have yet Badges of Division of a more modern Impression, and that is Old-Ministry Men and New-Ministry Men, and Under-spur Leathers to both. Some begin to talk of a War as if their Swords were already brandish'd, and their Taxes paid

paid into the Treasury ; and others talk of it in such a Manner, as sufficiently demonstrates their Aversion to contribute any thing towards it by Purse or Person, tho' it should be unavoidable. Some are for troubling our selves with no Alliances, but think we are able to defend our selves with our Fleet, and let the rest of *Europe* take its Fate. Some are for a Standing Force, and some are for none at all. Some are for having all the People of *Great Britain* exercis'd in Arms, because they reckon that they will not readily be false to themselves, and alledge, for this the ancient Practice of the Nation ; but others are against this, because they think it would be dangerous to the Prerogative, as if that and the People's Interest should ever thwart one another. Some are for a Monarchy, and others for a Common-wealth ; and they again crumble into Subdivisions. Of the Royalists, some are for a limited, and others for an absolute Monarchy ; and amongst the Republicans, some are for an Aristocracy, others for a Democracy ; and they are not agreed among themselves, whether *Holland*, *Venice*, *Switzerland*, or *Harrington's Oceana* shall be the Model.

The meaning of all these Men, if they have their main Interest, their Estate

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and Friends in *Great-Britain*, is and must be to preserve *Great-Britain*, tho' not from perfect Monarchy, and absolute Power of a Crown at Home, (which some approve of and like the best, whatever Name of Tyranny or Slavery it has heretofore gone by;) yet to preserve us, at least, from the Yoke of Foreign Power, from being overgrown by States that are about us, and coming down from being the Principal in Power and Riches, to be the last of *Europe*, or but once inferior to any of these neighbouring ones, which will turn to as much, since it necessarily subjects *England* to the Miseries of the Invasions it endured of old, as then the Common Prey of all the World, and every rising Nation. This surely, whatever else may be his Interest, is the Interest of every Individual *Englishman*, in all these Parties, to prevent: But if this be what is least done; if this not only be not prevented, but be the only thing that every Party, every Side, tho' not intentionally, yet really, does draw on, advance, promote, and nothing else; no not their Party-Interest, or any valuable Victory or Triumph, that one may gain above another, so much as gratifying a Passion; then we are in the fairest, most ready way that can be thought on

on to every thing that can be called Ruin or Destruction to a Country.

We read of many Prodigies that went before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; most of them fill'd the Minds of the Spectators with the Expectation of some terrible Event; but none of them did so naturally prognosticate the Ruin of that City, as their irreconcilable Factions among themselves, when they were all attackt by the Common Enemy. Our Case is much the same; we are environed with Dangers from without, yet are full of Factions within, and the greater our Dangers grow, the more fierce is our Party War. If we continue in this Disposition, it is easy to foresee the Event. By this means we must of Necessity either be over-run by a powerful Neighbour, or become a Prey to our own Government, whenever we have the Misfortune to fall under the Conduct of an Ambitious and Aspiring Prince: And therefore 'tis the height of Folly and Madness for the People of *Great Britain*, to entertain and foment such unnatural and unreasonable Divisions.

This nice Conjunction, and the Variety of Circumstances it affords us both at Home and Abroad, and the Consideration of our own Safety in particular, and

that of all *Europe* in general, require the best Disposition possible amongst ourselves, and a Temper of Union and mutual Confidence. This happy State is necessary to animate our Affairs, and strengthen our Constitution, that our inward Vigour may be sufficient to supply a Land or Naval Force that may be expedient on this Occasion; that whether his Majesty be oblig'd to an open Rupture, or to enter into any Treaty to secure the Peace of Christendom, he may execute it with Power, and be free from all the Clogs of Diffidence and Jealousy at Home. And such a Condition will add Weight to Counsel and Actions either in Peace or War: For when a Government is secured and strong within it self, 'tis not liable to the Impressions of an Enemy, or to the Accidents of War; and without this inward Quality it may be said to have the Form without the Power. In order to this the Intention of our present Establishment ought to be pursu'd in all the Administrations of it, which hitherto has not been done, and the Measures we fall into adjusted to this end, that the Proceedings of the Publick may be adequate to the excellent Design of the Revolution; which hitherto is not thoroughly accomplish'd, nor can be,

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but by the steady Progress of Affairs.

The People will think themselves safe when they see Matters in such a Posture; and when by this means they grow easy and secure, all repining will be laid aside, and they'll chearfully assist whenever the Government wants the Aid of their Persons or their Purses: And whoever should advise other Methods, either do not understand *Great Britain*, or don't love it, and will at the long run be found to be blind Guides, and mere Empiricks in Policy.

There's nothing can be of greater Concern to this Nation, than to be effectually secured against the *Pretender*, whose Cause is strongly encourag'd both at Home and Abroad. The Party within our selves do now entertain a certain Prospect of foreign Aid, in Case the Affairs of Christendom shall again fall into Confusion; which contributes in a great Measure to propagate and foment the prevailing Disaffection, as well amongst the Populace as those of a more eminent Figure. And we may assure our selves, that the See of *Rome*, which has the *Pretender* now under its Protection, will gladly contribute all possible Endeavours to set him on the Throne of these Kingdoms,

doms, and to ruin the *Northern* Heresy with an invincible Armado. The Cardinal Zealots, who chose *Aberoni*, because they knew him to be willing, and qualify'd for maintaining the Dignity of the Papal Chair, will be ready to comply with him in every thing that may recover the lost Territories of the Church. No doubt but they have an Occasion in their Eye, which they esteem very proper for giving a vent to their Zeal: and it will be none of the Fault of the *Spanish* Inquisitors, if they be mistaken in their Hopes. If the Cause of Religion be not sufficient Ground of Quarrel, they will soon find Causes of another Nature. Prescription of Time will not be allowed to be a sufficient Plea; and therefore were there none later, the old Expeditions of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Assistance given by Queen *Elizabeth* to the *Hollanders*, to erect themselves into a Free-State, when they revolted from under the Dominion of *Spain*, and our espousing the Title of K. *James* of *Scotland*, in opposition to that of their Infanta, will be Cause enough with these Priests: nay rather than fail, our taking *Jamaica* from the *Spaniards* in *Oliver's* Time, our own Settlement in the *West-Indies*, to which they pretend the Right of Discovery,

very may be insisted upon. 'Twould be in vain, against such Expounders, to alledge particular Treaties or the general Treaty at *Reswick* in defence of our selves. The Treaty of *Utrecht* is of a much later date than any of these, and yet these Ecclesiasticks can find means to invade the Force of it. And besides, if that will not do, we know the Determination of the Council of *Constance*, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks. But we are hitherto in Amity with his Catholick Majesty; and therefore it were ill Manners for us to suppose he will be influenc'd by such Councils, before we are convinced of it by his own Conduct.

Nevertheless we ought to look to our own Interest in all Events: For as we find it in His Majesty's Speech at the opening of the late Session of Paliament, we cannot but be sensible of the many Attempts which have been set on Foot to disturb the Peace of Europe, and of these Kingdoms. Of this we are daily more and more convinced, and Matters are already brought to a very melancholy Crisis. It should therefore be expected, that the Causes of former Differences between Parties who value the Protestant Religion and their own Civil Rights, will

will be so much forgotten, as to be no more remembred, or at least so as to be laid aside till a more convenient time. Let us have so much Common Prudence as to lay aside our intestine Quarrels, till we be delivered from our Apprehensions of the Dangers that threaten us. I remember to have read a remarkable Passage in our own History, that during an Inundation or Land-Flood in *Somersetshire*, as I take it, several Beasts of Prey, and such others as they naturally prey upon and hunt after, were forc'd to take Sanctuary together in a rising Ground; and their common Danger did so much abate their natural Enmity, that they herded together very peaceably. Nothing but a judicial Infatuation can hinder *Englishmen* at such a Juncture as this, from having less Wisdom and Conduct than those *English* Brutes. It concerns us to beware of Heats at Home, lest they should bring Fire and Sword upon us from Abroad: nor is it any way proper for us to listen to those Party Alarms that are sounded so high by virulent Pamphlets on both sides. If the Decision of the Controversy be referred to the Nation, 'tis ten to one but they will determine that they have been injur'd by both, and that the Leaders of the several

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Factions have minded their own Credit and Profit more than they have done the Honour and Interest of their Country. 'Tis all one to the good People of *Great Britain*, if their Blood and Treasure be lavishly spent, and their Liberty and Property be undermined, whether it be done by a Whig or Tory: they have both appeal'd to the Publick by their Writings, and the Publick is apt to think they are both to blame for keeping up the Spirit of Division: and if the Janglings be farther continued in the neglect of the publick Affairs of the Nation and its Allies, the People will be inclin'd to think both of them Criminal.

The contending Parties may rest satisfied, that the chief Fruits they are to expect from their mutual Quarrels, will be their blackning one another so, as to make them both odious to the World. It were endless and to no Purpose to go through all the particulars of the Charge which all of them bring against each other, nor can it have any other Effect, but to augment the Flame of Contention, which burns too fiercely already to need any additional Fuel. The Nation stands in need of Cordials, and not of Corrosives; and the only way for all Parties to shew themselves good Patriots, and to

recover and maintain their Credit with the People, is for one Party to demonstrate by their future Behaviour, that they are still the Men they formerly profess'd to be ; and for a second to demonstrate in like Manner, that they are not the Men they were formerly known to be ; and for a third to forget personal Quarrels, and concur, with their former Zeal, in advancing the true Interest of the present Government. We ought to be seeking for Expedients of Union, and not to be raking into the past Faults of Persons and Parties, which can have no other Issue but to heighten our Divisions: But if nothing less will serve those that seem to be most upon the Design of setting up one Party and throwing down another, than an absolute Conquest over the Persons and Reputations of those they account their Adversaries, it may be easily foreseen without a Spirit of Prophecy, that the Party attackt will make a vigorous Defence; and if no other Weapons but those of Recrimination will do, it may readily be foretold which of the Parties will look with the blackest Aspect at long run. There have been and still may be ill Men on all Sides: but if the Degrees and Nature of the Crimes, and the direct Influence which the respective

Five Principles of the contending Parties may have upon the Faults that they are severally charg'd with, were examin'd and compared by Impartial Judges, 'tis no hard Matter to guess on which Side the Ballance will turn, and which of the Parties will appear to be, the most naturally adapted to preserve or destroy the *British* Constitution. And those that are for the true Interest of their Country, who 'tis hop'd are by far the most numerous Party, when they see the several contending Parties so much taken up in the Defence of their own Interest and Credit, as to neglect those of the Nation, they may think themselves oblig'd equally to despise them all.

We have now things of another Nature to Mind; and our Danger being so great and near at Hand, we should consider what may be attempted with most probability to save us from the impending Storm. The Wisdom of the Nation, in the late Session of Parliament, found it our chief Interest, to take prudent Measures at Home, in order to render our Negotiations Abroad the more Prosperous and Successful. And indeed it was easy to see, what it import'd the Parliament to do towards the securing our own and *Europe's* Liberty, and the

preventing the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, both at Home and Abroad.

However, there were then many amongst us that *pretended not to see*, and turn'd all our Fears into Ridicule. Hence it happened that not one Point of Importance to the Security of these Kingdoms could be suffered to pass without the utmost Opposition. They could tell us, that we had no Danger to apprehend from Abroad, being with at Peace with all about us, nor yet from Malecontents at Home, since their Designs have already so frequently miscarried; and that his Majesty might rely on the common Affections of his Subjects, without any farther Security. When the Necessity of a competent Land Force was urg'd, then they could magnify our Naval Strength, as sufficient for all Purposes: But yet when a Fleet came to be demanded, they would not consent to this Neither. In fine, there was nothing, as they contended, requisite to be done, beyond what is ordinary and usual in in the securest Establishments, and in the most peaceable Conjunction, when a Nation is neither threatned by Foreign Alarms, nor intestine Divisions.

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But the World about could not consider such Men otherwise than as Enemies to the present Quiet and Settlement of their Country, and must have thought the great Council of this Nation very much infatuated, if they had taken no necessary Precautions against an impending Storm. Tho it could be suppos'd that our own more immediate Interest might not perhaps have required any extraordinary Circumspection, yet when the Season was for making the earliest and best Provision for securing the Liberties of *Europe*, it could not be dreamt that *Great Britain*, which had always kept the Ballance, should have a mind to continue neutral, and perhaps see all *Europe* enslav'd; whereby we should have entitl'd our selves to the heaviest Chains at last, without either Pity or Compassion: But more especially, when the Peace of these Kingdoms is still continually threatn'd to be disturb'd, His Majesty's Title call'd in Question, and consequently the Protestant Succession in the greatest Danger from the Attempts and Artifices of open and secret Enemies, there could be no Room for any Doubt, concerning the proper Measures to be taken in such an Exigency.

These Considerations made it necessary, that the Parliament should comply with
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His Majesty's Inclinations in the first Particular of Imporance that came before them, by consenting to keep Sixteen Thousand Three Hundred and Forty Seven Forces on the Establishment, for this Year. And notwithstanding the great Heats and Opposition this Matter caus'd *within* Doors, and unusual Murmurings and Discontents of many People *without*, I could never yet hear any tolerable Argument, why it should not be so. The imaginary Dangers from a *Standing Army*, so copiously furnish'd out from the common Topicks formerly written on that Head, were so many Goblins industriously rais'd, to terrify the People, and disturb the Publick; and were maliciously improv'd in printed *Speeches* and Pamphlets to the seducing of the Simple, and to the great Encouragement of the profess'd Enemies and Disturbers of the present Government.

But how unworthy is it to suspect his Majesty's gracious Intentions, who has convinc'd us and all the World, that He *never kept up any Troops but for our Protection, and has taken every Opportunity to disband as many as He thought consistent with our Safety.* It neither suits with His Majesty's Temper, his Circumstances, nor the Course of his past Life, either with relation to his Dominions in *Germany*, or to us
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here in *Great-Britain*, to do any thing that may give his Subjects Cause to distrust him. He has often declar'd very graciously, That the Interest of his Crown and his People are inseparable: And having given us such Assurances on His Part, it is but reasonable that we should give his Majesty all due Marks of Fidelity and Confidence on ours. And since his Majesty's Courage in War, and Conduct in Peace are so well known, we ought to pay the highest Deference to His Counsel and Advice, as to what is necessary for enabling us to defend our selves, and to assist our Allies, as Occasion requires.

I would not here be mistaken, or thought to be arguing for a *Standing Army*; on the contrary I know, that in many ancient Governments, the whole Body of the People was so train'd and disciplin'd, as to answer all the Ends of the best Disciplin'd Army; and 'twere to be wish'd, that the People of *Great-Britain* had Virtue enough to put themselves on the like Foot, and that our Nobility and Gentry, remitting something of their present Ease and slothful Luxury, would vouchsafe first to be taught themselves Martial Discipline, and afterwards with a generous Emulation would instruct others. If such a Spirit were once seen among

mong them, the People would readily follow their Example, and it would in a little Time be thought no Hardship, nor any way inconsistent with the Liberty of the Subject, if every Man were oblig'd to spend two or three Years of his Youth in qualifying himself to defend his Country. The Sword being thus in the Hands of the People could never be employ'd to their Disadvantage ; and the Nation would be secure from all foreign Attempts, since no Enemy would prove so adventurous, as to attack so populous a Country as this, where every Man would be a Soldier. But till some such Method be taken, I do not think 'tis reflecting on my Country to say, That we should be hard put to it, to defend our selves by our present Militia, against a foreign Army of Disciplin'd Troops.

The Number of Forces now establish'd was by the Parliament judg'd necessary, in the present Circumstances of the Nation, chiefly for the Preservation of our Domestick Quiet, against a turbulent and rebellious Faction at Home : But the Condition of the Fleet ought always to be the Concern of this Nation : and more especially ought we now to rely upon its Assistance, as the first and best Means, either to prevent a War, or bring it to a successful Period.

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This made it seem necessary that a larger Squadron of Ships than ordinary should be sent to the *Mediterranean*; the doing of which was by a Message from the King propos'd to the House of Commons about the latter End of the last Session, upon Advice from *Spain* of the great Forwardness of that Kingdom to begin a new War. And the Matter was accordingly agreed to by the House, tho' not without the strenuous Opposition of some, who formerly in their Arguments against the Settlement of the Land Forces, contended that the chief Security of this Island consisted in a powerful Navy, such as may enable us to defend our own Coasts from Invasions, to protect our foreign Trade, and to annoy a Publick Enemy either in their own Country, or foreign Plantations on Occasion.

But if the Usefulness of a Fleet, as the best Guard to *Great Britain*, is evident, not only from Reason, but from undoubted History, it must be very discouraging to receive Information from our Neighbours Abroad, that the Management of our Maritim Affairs has been defective in one of the prime Circumstances thereof. What honest *Briton* can without blushing read the following Passage in a *Paris Gazette*?

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(a) ' The Departure of the Fleet is retarded by the Difficulty of finding Seamen, many of those who have been press'd into the Service, being raw Men, and without Experience. When Sir George Bingham review'd the Crews, he took out of several Vessels the most robust and experienc'd Sailors, and put them on Board the *Barfleur*, which is to serve as Admiral, notwithstanding the Complaints of the Captains. 'Tis believ'd this Difficulty of finding Seamen, is occasion'd by above Ten Thousand being gone out of the Kingdom to serve in foreign Countries.

Now what signifies it that we have a Number of huge Ships; how can we maintain our Empire on the Sea with them; or how be in a Condition upon short Warning to fit out Royal Fleets, if we suffer our selves to be depriv'd of our Sailors, the best in the World, who probably may hereafter come to list themselves in the Service of the Enemies of *Great Britain*?

As we are an Island, and have the Sea round us; so by being Masters of That, we

(a) See the *London* Article, in the *Paris Gazette* of *Saturday, May 20. N. S. 1718.*

must of Consequence be the strongest in the World, as the World is now turn'd to Navigation, and each Country by degrees at length brought to depend absolutely on Trade, by wanting many Necessaries from foreign Places, which once they could live without perhaps, but since cannot, nor can defend themselves without : This being the Change that the improv'd Art of Navigation has made in the World, tying Countries to a reciprocal Dependence upon one another for their Growths, and obliging them to some sort of Correspondence. But on the other Hand, as we are the strongest in Situation by being an Island, the Dominion of the Sea suppos'd to be with us: So that being lost to us, and in any other Hands, or divided amongst others, we are of all the most and worst expos'd. This we are taught by Experience the most remarkable that ever was, even from the highest Remembrance of our selves through *Romans, Danes, Saxons,* and many Nations more (tho' less remark'd) down to the last *Normans.*

This being granted, it follows, that whatever Circumstances of ours admit other Nations, Foreigners whatsoever, to grow (tho' at the same Time we are granted to grow too) in Proportion above us in Navigation and Trade, this

necessarily subjects us to certain Ruin, and is the direct Way leading to a Consequence no ways to be evaded. For when that Work is done, and the Advantage once given up, 'tis altogether vain to imagine, that we can call it back, or by any Means, Arts of State, Treaties or Engagements whatsoever, be able to turn off that inevitable Evil that must light on us.

In the next Place, it is impossible that this Government should subsist, and much less be able to bear its Part in foreign Alliances, unless there be considerable Sums of Money given. Experience has taught us what vast Taxes are absolutely necessary to maintain our Army and Fleet, which are requisite for our Security, and the Defence of our Religious and Civil Rights: and provided we attain those Ends, it will not be thought we have bought them too dear. In this Case, we may well say, *Dimidium plus toto*. A wise Man and a good Man will rather chuse (if it come to that Pass) to enjoy one half of his Estate with the Liberty of his Conscience, and the Preservation of his Birth-right, than to possess a double or treble Portion of Riches, whilst his Mind must be enslav'd to the Superstition of knavish and interested Priests, his innocent Friends and Countrymen sacrificed to the Idol of Arbitrary

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trary Power, and the Title that is left to his own Possession and Liberty only precarious and during Pleasure. 'Tis upon such Considerations as these, that we have often contributed largely, tho' cheerfully, towards the Support of his Majesty's Government; and His frugal and discreet Management of the Publick Money, has never left any Man room to grudge his Disbursements. But those who have no Game left to play, but to embroil and trouble the Government; to endeavour by all Artifices to interrupt the Measures of State; to obstruct the Settlement of Affairs; to make our great Counsels ineffectual, upon which depends not only our Success, but the Safety of all *Europe*; those, I say, express their Good-will by labouring to make the People uneasy, because of the extraordinary Taxes, and thus always endeavouring to cut his Majesty short of those necessary Supplies that are the Sinews of all Business.

We are happy in a Sovereign, who has contrary to the Manner of some of his Predecessors, always testified his willingness, that they who grant the Money should also appoint Inspectors into the publick Accounts; so that if any Mismanagement happen in that Matter, we must blame our selves. And we may easily think
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our Security greater than that of any other Nation in *Europe*, if we reflect but a Moment on this important Article, that we are never oblig'd to open our Purses but by the Order and Consent of our Representatives, whom we have trusted with the Care of our Interest; which being equally their own at the same time, we have no reason to fear that they ever lay any Taxes upon us, but when it is absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Lives, Liberties and Religion.

In Case therefore our Circumstances shall require greater Contributions for this end than have hitherto been made toward the publick Support, we ought to not to grudge our Disbursements; especially when we reflect how frugally our Taxes have been hitherto manag'd since His Majesty's coming amongst us; our Burden being every Year made lighter, the National Debts considerably diminish'd, and the publick Credit proportionably rais'd.

I shall Sum up all that is requisite to be done for our Security in this one Article, which is, That the ensuing Session of Parliament be unanimous, speedy and vigorous in their Resolves. 'Tis the mutual Confidence, and good Understanding betwixt the King and Parliament, that

that hath hitherto preserv'd us from Ruin; and we have no Reason to doubt the Continuance thereof. They have already enabled His Majesty to enter into such Treaties and Alliances, as His Majesty, in his Wisdom shall think fit in the present Conjuncture; and 'tis hop'd they will think themselves oblig'd to make good whatever shall be done or agreed to between his Majesty and our Allies. For if it should be objected, that we ought to be no farther concluded by Treaties, than our Parliaments shall judge them to be for the Honour and Advantage of the Publick; at this rate no Nation we shall treat with, will for the same reason think it self bound by Any stipulated with us; since whenever they shall be press'd to execute any Treaty which they shall think to their Disadvantage, they may with Truth object, that Obligations, to be of Force, ought to be mutual; whereas they can have no other Security of a Compliance on our side, since 'twill be in the Power of a Parliament to disable our King from performing his part of the Covenant. It is therefore to be hop'd, that a *British* Parliament will have a tender Regard to the Honour of a Prince, whose Reputation has stood us in
great

great stead, and who has shewn such an extraordinary Conduct amidst all the Difficulties that has hitherto attended his Government.

Thus, My Lord, I have given you my free Thoughts on this Affair; and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most Faithful

Humble Servant.



